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in the Federal Republic, the desire to give a lasting token of this gratitude in a suitable form, has been repeatedly expressed. Now a project is being considered, which has a special symbolic significance.

For years a struggle of prominent citizens and numerous organizations of Washington has been going on to preserve historical buildings on Lafayette Square, that park in front of the White House which, among other things, honors such revolutionary generals as Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. One of the buildings which are threatened to be torn down by the renewal plans of certain ambitious circles, is the old Belasco Theater which, since 1940, has been used for other purposes. Today it serves as a USO soldiers home. From 1895 to 1940, this chamber theater was one of the few cultural centers of our Capital City and generations of Washingtonians experienced unforgettable artistic adventures in its cozy rooms. To be sure, the theater is not large, but is it not a fact, that it is the small opera houses and stages of Europe that belong to the jewels, to those places where one can make music, sing and spin yarns without enormous costs?

#### BEETHOVEN OPERA HOUSE IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

Well, German circles now think not only of rescuing this Washington theater from destruction (in which task they will need an active support of uncouneted citizen's associations of Washington and the whole country), but also of its restoration and, while preserving the traditional frame, of converting it into a snug opera house for our city. The name of Ludwig von Beethoven would suit more than any other to symbolize what had always united America and Germany in spite of all storms and years of war.

We have learned from the circles which are interested in the preservation of the theater, that the total cost of the restoration of the Belasco Theater would amount to about \$500,000—DM2 million. Recently, the Federal Republic offered DM1 million for the preservation of the Nubian Temple of Kalabasha in Egypt. In spite of all savings appeals to all free governments, those in Bonn know that cultural needs require sacrifices which are never spent needlessly. Perhaps, a part of these expenses could be met from contributions by those industrial enterprises and institutions which were able to regain their world importance with the aid of the Marshall plan money. In this way, the gift would not be just a Government matter, but an expression of gratitude of the German people. Congressman CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican of Pennsylvania, who was quite happy to learn about these plans and who, together with his Democratic and Republican colleagues has taken the stand for the preservation of the buildings on Lafayette Square, told us that a European country could hardly select a better form of the expression of its gratitude to America, than this contribution to the cultural life of the capital city. In the meantime, Mr. KEARNS and Congressman HARRIS B. McDOWELL, Democrat of Delaware, together with other representatives of the population, continue their campaign for the preservation of the Belasco Theater (which, by the way, has received its name from the unforgettable manager David Belasco), because the original idea of rescuing the theater through the initiative of the American citizens has not been given up. It is possible, however, that an initiative from Bonn will precede these endeavors, and erect a lasting cultural memorial in Washington, in the spirit of American-German friendship.

### Preservation of Indiana Dunes Area

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on May 3, for six other Senators and myself, I introduced S. 1797, a bill to preserve for the people portions of the priceless recreation area and geologic and botanical wonderland known as the Indiana Dunes. This bill and the next few months will provide what is perhaps our final opportunity to protect from thoughtless destruction the little that remains of this irreplaceable natural heritage.

It is gratifying to note the increased support which is building for our purpose. In addition to the great conservation groups which have been our allies for some time, elected officials in Indiana are now urging that the proposed lakeport and terminal facilities be located at an Indiana site other than Burns Ditch. They say, as others of us have said, that it would be senseless to destroy the dunes for the sake of a harbor at Burns Ditch, because putting a harbor there would serve only the narrow interests of one big corporation. The economic interests of Indiana will be better served—and an important part of the dunes will be saved—these Indiana officials say, by putting the harbor at another site more accessible to many Indiana industries.

Another new statement of support for saving the dunes has come from the New York Times, which, in a May 4, 1961, editorial, asked the people of Indiana to demonstrate that "vision and understanding" which would "reject the cold cash advantages of wrecking the dunes today, in favor of the long-term benefit of a unique scenic and recreational area of great value for tomorrow and all time." I ask unanimous consent that this New York Times editorial be printed following these remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DUNES AGAINST DOLLARS

We cannot quarrel with the ambitions of Indiana to have a deepwater port and to expand industrially with the growing commerce on the Great Lakes induced by the St. Lawrence Seaway.

But we can and do quarrel with the dredging plans of the Army Corps of Engineers and the Indiana Port Authority, which would hopelessly destroy the unique Indiana Dunes area, proposed by Senator PAUL DOUGLAS and other Members of Congress for permanent preservation as a national monument.

Alternative plans have been offered; but the Engineers say the evidence is all in favor of spending \$80 million for terminal facilities at a site which would split and devastate the remaining unspoiled area of dunes wonderland located a figurative stone's throw

from Chicago. Engineers can cite cost figures with an air of ominous finality and doubtless they will do so at the current hearings on the project in Indianapolis.

It is difficult to balance the intangible values of fresh air, clean beach and natural beauty at the doorstep of a great metropolitan area against the cost-benefit ratios of the Engineers. But if the people of Indiana have vision and understanding, they will reject the apparent cold cash advantages of wrecking the dunes today, in favor of the long-term benefit of a unique scenic and recreational area of great value for tomorrow and all time.

*Cuba file*  
Cuba and Laos

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. RAY J. MADDEN**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by H. B. Snyder, publisher of the Gary (Ind.), Post-Tribune, sets out some practical and constructive thoughts on our international situation in Cuba and Laos.

The same should be read by all Members of Congress:

As this is written there is a provisional cease-fire in Laos, but there is no peace in Laos.

An abortive invasion has been crushed in Cuba, but there is no peace in Cuba.

There is a continuing attempt for coalition government in the Congo, but there is no peace in the Congo.

At the moment of writing there was no war in any of those places. There was an absence of war, that is, in the sense that men were not dying in the battle lines—though some died before firing squads and some in intertribal and interparty blood-letting.

But there definitely was not and is not peace. In a very real sense, the whole world is at war. The war is for men's minds and for men's souls and for men's lands and the way men live and the way their children and their children's children shall live for generations.

It has been called a cold war, and it is, in the sense that bombs are not dropping, except sporadically, and that guns are not firing, except intermittently. But the danger in that phrase is in thinking that it is not a real war, in thinking it is not a war to the death.

The important difference between this cold war and the wars the world has known is that for the time being the weapons of potential world annihilation possessed by both of the major camps are held in check.

The important similarity between this cold war and the other wars in this century of total wars, a similarity which is too often overlooked by our side—is that issues in it are not settled by polite negotiation, but by the application of strength.

We can negotiate with the Kremlin, as we have, and in such negotiations see Czechoslovakia and Hungary, North Korea and the Chinese mainland pass into the Communist orbit.

The British and the French tried that kind of negotiations with another land-

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hungry, man-hungry totalitarian regime less than 25 years ago and finally learned on a long, hard road that it wouldn't work. It is working no better now and can't work.

And that's why it is necessary for those on our side, and particularly for those of us in the United States—both the people and its leaders—to realize the similarity between our cold war and any other war, the fact that nothing can win but strength.

What strength is needed?

The strength of continued nuclear power, of increased space power, certainly.

The strength of troops in readiness, more troops that we now have in readiness, and troops who are thoroughly trained in guerrilla warfare.

The strength to help build up anti-Communist forces in the various threatened areas into effective guerrilla bands, and to keep those guerrillas continually supplied and conscious of strong backing.

The industrial strength to produce and the willingness to turn that strength away, when needed, from production of mere home consumer goods.

The economic strength to help those nations of lesser opportunity to raise their standards of living to the point they will be glad to be on our side, the side of freedom.

The moral and intellectual strength to teach and to guide, not in a spirit of intellectual superiority or in the comfort of an air conditioned classroom, but by working with real sympathy among people eager to learn but resentful of an attitude of white superiority which they have come to hate.

The strength of patience, not patient listening to Soviet rantings, but the patience of really learning the needs and the aspirations of the new peoples from the bush-roots up and learning the complexities of their languages and traditions so that they can be guided to the lives they want in an image they have come to know.

What would such strength cost?

Sacrifice, no doubt.

Sacrifice by our youth who very probably would have to spend more time in more numbers in the armed forces.

Sacrifice by the mothers, wives, and sweet-hearts of those same youths.

Sacrifice by the specially educated who would be asked to go to less lucrative jobs in order to work with the people of the new nations whom we want as our allies.

Sacrifice by business and by individuals in the form of new taxes, very possibly heavy new taxes.

Sacrifice by industry and by consumers in the terms of frills that most of us have come to regard as necessities.

Sacrifice by workers, unionized and not, perhaps, of increased pay and easier hours and sacrifice by industry of more certain and increased profits.

We doubt if we have named all the strengths required or all the sacrifices which might be required to obtain those strengths. We doubt if we know the full need or the full price.

But the question arises: Would the American people be willing to pay the price?

Perhaps on the basis of present information they might not, certainly would not without loud complaint.

But if the proper leadership—the President and his advisers who are in a position to know—would speak out we think they would be willing.

Granted, it is easier to stir a nation to sacrifice when bombs are falling, when its sons are dying, when the danger is as obvious as it is real.

But we are in a war now.

It is up to the President to impress that fact on the people. It is up to the people to realize and face that fact.

It probably will not be a short war. In some ways it will be easier than a shooting

war—which we hope it does not become—but in other ways it will be harder. It is harder to sacrifice when that sacrifice is not stirred by actual killing.

But we believe it is necessary for our diplomats to realize that it is not a war which can be won in negotiations unless those negotiations are backed by very real strength; for our generals to realize that that very real strength must be built up and kept in readiness; for the people to realize that victory can be won and liberty preserved only through sacrifice.

We believe that it is up to the President to bring this realization to the people.

We believe that once they realize it, the people will be willing to do their part.

## Democracy Under the Guns of Cold War

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, our Nation is in a conflict of ideologies and many ask themselves can a democracy survive and retain the freedoms that we enjoy under our Government.

There are many who believe that the only way we can survive as a Nation is to give more power to the executive branch of the Government, so that necessary actions may be taken more quickly in order to cope with the decision-making ability of a totalitarian state. There are many dangers involved in giving the executive branch of the Government absolute authority to make hasty decisions without recourse to the people.

We are a representative Government, and therefore, it is essential that the Congress, which is the representative branch of the Government, maintain its position as the direct voice of the people.

Roy Roberts, one of the outstanding students of government and editor of the Kansas City Star, wrote an article "Democracy Under the Guns of Cold War," which appeared in the Sunday, May 7, issue of that publication, and I recommend it for thoughtful study.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DEMOCRACY UNDER THE GUNS OF COLD WAR (By Roy Roberts)

More than once democracy, with its inefficiency, has shown that it can win a shooting war, even against the most ruthless dictatorship.

But can democracy with all its peacetime checks and balances, its delays and its lack of protective secrecy, win the deadly cold war that is making the history of the mid-20th century?

The obvious answer: Yes. Undoubtedly democracy can and will muddle through somehow. But the United States must admit, as its leaders have pointed out, that the perils confronted today and to be confronted for many tomorrows are in fact greater than those of the battlefield. Is the present mechanism of our democracy best

constituted to meet the new, grave challenge of peace that is not peace?

Many students of government and world issues have their doubts. There is a growing belief that a genuine reexamination of our governmental structure is necessary. The United States is to counter the drive of the Communists for total domination. They suggest that such a reexamination may be as essential to the Nation's future as building military defenses, voting billions of aid, shoring up foreign policy and hastening into outer space.

Basically, the argument boils down to this: The American constitutional structure was built in the days of an agrarian society when the principal concerns of government were purely domestic. Only to a limited degree did international problems intrude on the thinking of the Founding Fathers.

So there was a system of effective if clumsy checks and balances, designed primarily to keep the executive or either of the other branches of Government from becoming too powerful.

The system worked and with amazing effectiveness. It brought the United States to an unprecedented level of greatness. Never before had the mind of man devised so vital a principle of government.

But times and the world have changed. And it may be necessary to verge on political heresy by suggesting that some change in the American democratic system may now be imperative. Today our international concerns overshadow our national problems, a great as they may be. Today, we live on a globe in the ferment of revolution.

Pinned down, almost any national leader would admit that there is validity in the argument for national reexamination. Privately there is much talk of relieving the President of some of his burdens, of streamlining the mechanism of democracy. But it is regarded as political poison to get out in front in this area. There is philosophical discussion, usually in private. Then the business of government, of politics, of life goes on in the old-fashioned way.

In 1961, however, the world picture grows increasingly darker. New and critical decisions face Government each day, each hour. Can the United States afford to pursue the old ways? There seems to be more, and timely, discussion of this question than at any time in the past.

Indirectly, President Kennedy was dealing with this overall problem in his recent speech to the American Newspaper-Publishers Association. Bluntly, he outlined the dangers of the cold war, dangers greater than those of shooting war.

"No war ever posed a greater threat to our security," he said.

Candidly, he urged the press, television radio and other media to accept more responsibility by suppressing stories that might conceivably give valuable information to the enemy.

Because the question raised by the President may provide the initial reappraisal of democracy fighting a cold war, we mention it first. Already leaders of the press have accepted Mr. Kennedy's challenge. This week they will confer with him on the problems of a free press in a moment of great world crisis.

We may note, certainly, that freedom of information is an essential of democracy. It is one of our cherished heritages. That it should be discussed by the President in such a manner is a measure of the new menace of the cold war. If we were trading bullets with the enemy, there would be no problem. There would be precedents from the past to guide us. When a national emergency is officially declared, the powers of the Presidency are immensely strengthened. Numerous special laws, on the statute books, come into force. In a sense, the President

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Question. What happens if this type of program is continued?

Answer. I think it means that we move step by step toward a completely regimented agriculture with the imposition of specific controls in acres or in pounds, bales, barrels, bushels, cows, sows and hens—and embracing all the trappings that go with a completely controlled agriculture. This is the clear choice that faces us now with the proposals of the Cochrane-Freeman bill currently in Congress.

Question. The "Omnibus" bill! Exactly what is it?

Answer. It is the greatest bid for power that we have ever seen in American agriculture. Power for the Secretary.

Question. But Mr. Freeman explains that nothing will be done without a referendum and a two-thirds vote of the farmers.

Answer. Well, this sounds all right until you examine the Secretary's powers. He has the power to exempt certain producers and certain areas; and when they are exempted from the program they don't vote. He will determine who will vote. Then, he will submit the proposition. The farmers who vote will not vote for or against a proposed program; but for one of two alternatives, both of which may be bad.

The Secretary, by establishing the alternatives, can almost dictate the result of the referendum.

Question. This bill has been touted as a program in which the farmers would write their own ticket. Are you saying that they will neither write it nor have a fair chance to turn it down?

Answer. This proposed legislation is a fraud from beginning to end. It starts out by giving the impression that farmer committees are going to draft proposals. All right, let's look at the farmer advisory committees. They are to be appointed by the Secretary, two-thirds of them from nominees suggested by ASC committeemen—in other words, per diem employees of the Department of Agriculture. Of course, their interest is going to be in perpetuating and expanding control programs. And the Secretary has final selection.

Question. These commodity committeemen will be paid?

Answer. Fifty dollars a day plus expenses. Now, the other third of the commodity committee will be from nominations made by "appropriate" farm organizations. I am sure that after our opposition to the bill we will not be considered "appropriate." This committee is to make suggestions. Only suggestions. It is under the absolute control of the Secretary and, in my opinion, subservient to the wishes of the Department of Agriculture, the Secretary, the administration.

First, the Secretary has the power to establish the committee. Secondly, he appoints the committee. Third, he can decide when to discontinue the committee. And fourth, he doesn't have to accept a single recommendation it makes.

Question. Mr. Shuman, these committeemen will not be subject to regulations on political action?

Answer. They will not. I am convinced, Bill, that the Cochrane-Freeman bill would set up apparatus for one of the most far-reaching and dangerous political machines that we have ever seen anywhere.

Question. But how about the right to veto by Congress?

Answer. Well, Congress has a limited number of days in which to act. Those of us who have been around the Congress know that if the chairman of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees (Coolley and Ellender) didn't see fit to bring this to an issue the Congress would have no opportunity whatsoever to veto.

Question. One accusation is that the Secretary could enforce certain regulations about the use of labor, etc., by the participants in various programs. Is that also in the package?

Answer. Yes, the Secretary is authorized to establish terms and conditions for price or income support. This could include minimum wages, housing regulations, etc. for farm labor.

Question. What about the check-off feature of the bill?

Answer. The Secretary is authorized to make a check-off from the returns of all farmers producing products covered by these programs for research, promotion and advertising.

Question. This is not subject to farmer vote?

Answer. No! Not as a separate proposition.

Question. The term "socialized agriculture" doesn't seem to scare people anymore, but it appears to me, from your analysis of this bill, that we would be right in the middle of it. You have intimated that you think the No. 1 purpose here is to build a political machine. Do you think this is over and above the effort to socialize agriculture?

Answer. I really believe that the first objective of a group of folks who are most aggressive in support of this bill is to build a political machine which will change the farmer vote.

Question. Mr. Shuman, there has been a lot of talk about farm freedom. Will this law destroy it?

Answer. I think there is a very real danger that this bill would take us beyond the point of no return and move in the direction of a completely regimented, comfortable peasantry in agriculture. I am equally sure (I have observed this in foreign countries, where they tried it) that this kind of an agriculture means lower income, lower opportunity and not an improved standard of living for farmers.

Question. If this bill passed would the Secretary of Agriculture have as much power as Minister of Agriculture in Russia?

Answer. Well, I know very little about the powers of Russia's Minister of Agriculture. But I would say this—the Secretary of Agriculture in the United States would have more absolute power over the farm management and operating decisions of farmers than any other government official in the world outside the iron curtain.

Question. The Secretary has said he probably wouldn't bother the livestock people.

Answer. But there is nothing in this bill to prevent it. In fact, it is contemplated in the legislation, because livestock is specifically named.

Question. There seems to be a great sense of urgency about passing the bill. What is the big hurry?

Answer. Personally, I think the reason they are in such a hurry is that they are afraid farmers back home will find out what it is.

Question. You seem convinced it won't help farmers. Will the bill help consumers?

Answer. Consumers will be its strongest opponents when they understand it—because of the cost.

Question. How much?

Answer. My estimate is that it would be from four to five times the cost of the present (price support) program, which runs in the neighborhood of \$3 to \$4 billion. So my guess (as good as anybody's) is that it will run from \$15 to \$20 billion per year.

Question. You have strenuously objected to that part of the bill that will let the Secretary base allotments on a 10-year history. Why?

Answer. Whenever you base a control program on production history, you inevitably penalize the areas—and the farmers in the areas—where production patterns are changing. I cannot believe that the Members of Congress from these areas want this to happen.

## Adenauer Reports on His U.S. Visit

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, following his return to Bonn from a 6-day visit to the United States, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reported to the German Bundestag on his talks with President John K. Kennedy, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, and with other members of the administration. Excerpts from the Chancellor's statement, delivered before the Bundestag on April 21, 1961, follow:

ADENAUER REPORTS OF HIS U.S. VISIT: "WE CAN HAVE UNLIMITED CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY"

Our discussions with President Kennedy were not based on any rigid agenda. The number of those present was large or small, depending on the subject under discussion. President Kennedy and I also had a number of conversations between ourselves. Almost all important questions were discussed. The communique issued on these discussions contains a good account of the subjects dealt with. I would recommend a thorough perusal of that very carefully formulated communique.

From the conversations I have had, I have gained the impression and the confident hope that the Federal Republic will cooperate very closely with the United States and that this cooperation will spread increasingly to all spheres which are of importance either to the Federal Government or to the U.S. Government. The talks in Washington have laid the foundation for such cooperation.

#### NATO

President Kennedy and I went into particular detail on the subject of the North Atlantic defense alliance. We both agreed that NATO constitutes the foundation of our joint defense and common policy and that it should be further developed both in a political and in a military respect in order to be able to carry out the ever-increasing task of defending the free world. Thorough consultation on all questions affecting one or more NATO members must be the paramount principle of political cooperation. It is only on that basis that an alliance of free peoples can be kept alive. The United States, being the most powerful country, is the natural leader in that alliance; among free people, however, leadership does not consist in the strongest member simply notifying his partners of his wishes, but in letting them know his intentions in good time and discussing those intentions with them. The United States follows this principle, and it intends to continue doing so in full measure.

We are at one in considering that the plans for conventional armaments agreed within NATO should be fulfilled. This also applies to valid nuclear armament planning, on the further development of which we shall continue to consult within NATO. There was no doubt and no difference of opinion about the fact that it is indispensable for the

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alliance to maintain and develop all military means; i.e., both conventional and nuclear. GERMANY, BERLIN, AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION

The President and I have also discussed in detail the problem of Germany, including Berlin. Germany and Berlin can—and of this I am certain—rely on the pledges which the Americans have given to protect the freedom of Berlin. The foundations on which the Federal Government's policy with regard to Germany has rested since 1949, a policy with which our allies solemnly associated themselves in the Paris conventions, remain unaltered. A just and enduring solution for the problem of Germany, including Berlin, is possible only on the basis of the right of self-determination. The restoration of Germany's unity in peace and freedom remains the goal of our joint policy.

The President presented his Government's standpoint on European unification with great emphasis. The new administration, like its predecessor, regards the European Economic Community as the center and motor not only for the economic but also for the political unification of Europe. The President and I agreed that the EEC constitutes an important element of strength for the Atlantic community. As repeatedly stated by the governments of its member states, the EEC is not exclusive, but is open for membership to other European states. We hope that others will decide to take that step. This applies most particularly to Great Britain, with whom the continental European states, like the United States of America, are linked by close political and economic ties. I also think that the realization is growing in Britain that the time has now come for her close association with the EEC, and that such association must not weaken the dynamic political and institutional potential inherent in the European Economic Community.

Another important subject of my talks with the President was economic cooperation with the other countries of Europe and with Canada. We agreed that the nascent organization for economic cooperation and development is to be regarded as a decisive step in the further development of the Atlantic community.

## DISARMAMENT

The problem of controlled disarmament occupied an important place in our discussions. We agreed that the goal of our discussions and efforts is general and total peace. Controlled disarmament would be an important milestone on the road to that aim. The statements by the President and his advisers have convinced me that the United States is working with all its vigor on a solution to this problem and is trying to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union. They are, however, not prepared to consent to any solutions that would make the agreed measures pointless from the start. This applies particularly to solutions providing for inadequate controls or none at all.

## STRONG EVIDENCE OF FRIENDSHIP

All during our stay, both in Washington and in Texas, we experienced great cordiality and genuine solidarity. These feelings emerged again and again in all our conversations and more particularly during a meeting of the Senate in Washington which I attended at the suggestion of the President of the Senate, Vice President JOHNSON.

We can have unlimited confidence in President Kennedy, in his energy, wisdom and foresight. The energy and human warmth of the Vice President are other essential factors to be highly appreciated in these times.

The President, the U.S. Senate assembled in plenary meeting—I have just mentioned this—as well as the people and Legislature of the State of Texas gave me and, through me, to the German people such strong evidence

of their friendship that I cannot be but deeply moved in recalling it all.

It is one of the most momentous happenings of our time, burdened, as it is, with so many difficult problems, that in the course of recent years the United States and Germany have arrived at ever closer relations and firm mutual friendship and that, at the same time, the unification of Europe has constantly progressed with the full agreement of the United States.

Our awareness of all this gives us the strength we need to face with equanimity the difficulties which continue to confront us. A united Europe and the United States of America jointly constitute a haven of freedom and security for all those whose freedom is threatened.

## Who Really Controls Our Foreign Policy?

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, we continue to read reports that the Central Intelligence Agency isolated certain Cuban revolutionaries and in some instances imprisoned them before the ill-fated invasion. I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article in the New York Times of May 7, 1961, by Sam Pope Brewer which describes the experience reported by an anti-Castro Cuban volunteer. Apparently the Central Intelligence Agency was operating a private foreign policy of its own. I certainly hope that Congress will be told the true facts and that steps will be taken to make our intelligence and information agencies responsible to the Congress. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article from the Times as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 7, 1961]

ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS SAY CIA IMPRISONED THEM FOR 11 WEEKS—SPOKESMAN ASSERTS 17 WERE MISTREATED FOR OPPOSING ROLE FOR "BATISTA MEN"

(By Sam Pope Brewer, special to the New York Times)

MIAMI, May 5.—An anti-Castro Cuban volunteer declared today that the Central Intelligence Agency had held him and 16 others prisoner and incommunicado for 11 weeks before and during last month's abortive invasion of Cuba.

He said he was in fear of death much of the time.

The statements were made by Dr. Rodolfo Nodal Tarafa, 27-year-old lawyer, 1 of 17 held in a remote camp in the jungle of Petén in northern Guatemala until last Friday. The fact of their imprisonment was well-known in Miami and was reported earlier.

Originally their number was given incorrectly as 18. The full details have not been available until now.

Dr. Nodal and his fellow prisoners have just organized a new Cuban movement to be known as the 17th of April Movement in memory of the invasion they missed. They have called for the cooperation of all Cuban groups to overthrow Premier Fidel Castro but under Cuban leadership and without the participation of the CIA.

Dr. Nodal and his companions maintain

that because they opposed Capt. Manuel Artime and other leaders backed by the CIA, they were threatened, handcuffed, kept in "subhuman" prison conditions, accused of being Communists and submitted to lie detector tests at gunpoint.

According to Dr. Nodal, members of the group were neither charged with any offense, nor brought to trial during their 11 weeks of imprisonment. He said that until they landed outside Miami last Friday they had not been able to find out where they were being taken.

They charge that the intelligence agency employed thugs and gangsters who stood between the Cuban volunteers and their own Cuban leaders. Dr. Nodal said that throughout their imprisonment, except for a few days, they were under American guards.

Pressed for details, he said that by American he meant that they were the CIA representatives in charge of the camp who were assumed to be American and whose authority was unchallenged. He said that some spoke English with an accent and were believed by the Cubans to be naturalized U.S. citizens, "perhaps of Central European origin." They were known to the Cubans only by code names.

## MOST REFUSE TO TALK

Most of the former prisoners will not discuss their experiences for fear of some form of reprisal.

Dr. Nodal emphasized that the group's resentment was directed not against the United States but against the incredible men who ran the camp. This, in chronological detail, is his story:

Dr. Nodal came to Miami from Cuba to work for the Democratic Revolutionary Front last October. On December 6 he enlisted in Miami and was sent to Guatemala for training.

On January 31 about 300 men in the training camp at Trax, Guatemala, were mustered by their senior military adviser known to them only as Frank. They were told that two Cuban officers who had been in charge had been sent away "for playing politics."

This left Capt. José Pérez San Román in charge of the camp as far as Cubans had any control. Captain San Román was one of the leaders of the April 17 invasion and has since been captured by the Cuban Government.

Exile sources here agree that Captain San Román was an officer in Cuba under Fulgencio Batista, whose dictatorial regime was overthrown by Fidel Castro. He is said to have fought against the Castro revolution in the Sierra Maestra, although there is no way to confirm this.

## 230 SEEK TO RESIGN

Of the 300 men, 230 asked to resign from the force at Camp Trax because of the change in leaders. A new North American agent known to them as Bernie then appeared on the scene. He accused the troops of insubordination as a result of Communist influence.

Bernie said he had authority from the Democratic Revolutionary Front to name commanders and that he had chosen Captain San Román.

The 230 dissenters demanded that their case be heard by a member of the Front within 72 hours. Otherwise they wished to be discharged and returned home.

They elected a committee of five to call on Bernie with their demand. He refused to see more than a single spokesman and Dr. Nodal was chosen by the others.

Dr. Nodal said he explained in detail that they were neither mercenaries nor conscripts but volunteers and that they could not accept leaders who they considered represented the opposite of what they were fighting for.

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After discussion it was agreed that the men would continue training for 5 days while they waited to hear when they might expect a representative of the Democratic front.

#### TROOPS STRIKE AGAIN

When 7 days had gone by without an answer the troops went on strike again.

Frank arrived back from a trip to Washington on that day but would say only that he hoped a representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front would arrive "within a month."

The next day they were formally ordered back to training. Under the pressure of threats and promises all but 20 gave in during the next few days. The others agreed to resume training with the promise that their demands would be met.

On February 11 the men were ordered out on a field exercise. While the camp was virtually empty one of the advisers called for 8 of the 20 remaining standouts and asked them to go with him. They thought there was to be a further conference.

They were led along a jungle path to a big canvas-covered truck and suddenly found themselves covered by Thompson sub-machine guns held by three men. They were ordered into the truck and driven away.

At La Sulza, an estate where there was a Guatemalan Army camp, they were surrounded by 8 or 10 men with automatic weapons. The prisoners were taken from the truck one at a time and led away out of sight. They felt they were about to be shot.

Each was taken into a small room, forced to empty all his pockets and remove all his clothes.

"I felt this was it," Dr. Nodal said. "I was sure we were going to be murdered."

When they had given up all their possessions—"even our love letters"—they were told to dress again and taken away to a shed in the camp. As they assembled they found five other men from their unit who had had no connection with the mutiny but who had quarreled with Capt. San Román. Two days later another prisoner was brought in, making their total number 14.

The shed they were in was about 15 by 30 feet with a concrete floor, wooden walls, and a galvanized iron roof. In the sunny Guatemalan highlands it was so hot in the daytime that they lay naked and panting on the floor. But it was bitter cold at night.

Dr. Nodal said they were given black beans, rice, and tortillas without salt to eat.

#### FIVE PRISONERS QUESTIONED

On February 24 five prisoners were taken away without any explanation. Outside each was put into a pickup truck and driven away to the Halevtia camp not far away.

There they were questioned separately by Pat, the chief security guard. Dr. Nodal described him as "6 feet, 4 inches tall and about 230 pounds and stupid." His questioning, however, was said to be courteous at La Sulza Dr. Nodal said.

Dr. Nodal was then taken into another shed and turned over to a young man operating a lie detector.

Dr. Nodal said the interrogation was aimed at making him say he was a Communist.

The prisoners then were allowed to bathe and shave for the first time in 12 days and were given clean clothes and an edible meal. Then they were taken back to the shack at La Sulza.

Five days later, March 1, an agent known as Pappy, who was said to be the chief of the whole operation in Guatemala, came to say that they were being moved again but he would not say where.

Four were taken away in handcuffs at that time. The next day the remaining 10, including Dr. Nodal, were taken to the airbase at Retalhuleu, and flown to a river in the Petén jungle area.

They were taken up the river for an hour in canoes. There, in a crude camp at the top of a cliff they found their four previous companions and two other men they had not seen since leaving the Trax camp.

They were warned, Dr. Nodal said, that they would be shot if they tried to escape. They found living conditions better than in their last prison. Yet still no one would answer any questions.

Their guards brought in a radio set for an hour a day so they could hear the news programs from Radio Swan, a station operated from Swan Island, off the Honduran coast.

A 17th prisoner was brought in to join them when they had been there 2 days.

On March 28 they heard that Dr. José Miró Cardona was to be named president of the Revolutionary Council. Two days later he arrived to visit them, Dr. Nodal said, with Dr. Manuel A. de Varona, the Council's Secretary of War.

Dr. Miró Cardona said he had no part in their misfortune and that he would see they were set free within a few days. He carried away the first letters they had been able to send out to their families since their arrest.

They awoke April 17 to find that their guard had disappeared. They were still guarded, however, by a detachment of 47 Guatemalan soldiers under a lieutenant. "At all other times," Dr. Nodal said, "we were guarded by Americans with automatic weapons."

#### INVASION NEWS BROADCAST

Later that day they learned by radio of the Cuban invasion. They were discussing their chances for an escape when the Guatemalan lieutenant, who had a direct radio link with Retalhuleu, told them that an American was coming from Retalhuleu to get them.

Two days later five heavily armed men arrived, headed by a short, bald, middle-aged man known to them as Mac.

Dr. Nodal said Mac berated them at length for not being with the invasion forces. He said they had missed their chance to do their patriotic duty and that when the invaders won out the prisoners would be handed over to Capt. San Román "in handcuffs."

Mac then left the camp but four guards stayed with them.

On Friday, April 28, 11 days after the invasion began, their guards suddenly took them by canoe to a village on the mainland and, after an hour's ride in a jeep, they were put into a DC-3 airplane at a jungle airstrip.

They were flown back to Retalhuleu, carefully searched and loaded into a C-54 aircraft, where they found 118 other volunteers who for one reason or another "had not taken part in the landing."

Even then, they said, when they asked the security officer, whom they knew as Don, where they were going, the only answer was that they would learn when they got there.

They arrived at a Florida airport before dawn Saturday. Dr. Nodal said he found himself in the same hangar from which he had started out for Guatemala. He did not know where it was except that it was about an hour's ride south of Miami.

That odyssey ended when they were dumped from trucks before daybreak in Miami itself. They found themselves free men again after 11 weeks.

#### NODAL HEADS NEW GROUP

Dr. Nodal is president of the new 17th of April Group. He was politically active in Cuba in the AAA movement, a code name for the National Revolutionary Front headed by Dr. Aureliano Sanchez Arango during the Batista regime.

The secretary general of the new group is Dr. Omar Castaneda, a lawyer who was a leader in the university students anti-Castro organization.

Their fellow prisoners included: Francisco and Rene Chavez, newspapermen on the staff of the Diario de la Marina; Adalberto Delgado, medical student; Rodolfo Bartelemey Dominicks, captain in the Castro police; Antonio Frontela Gomez, electrical worker; Cecilio Fuentes Rico, bartender; Rolando Fuentes Rico, truckdriver; Epifanio Gonzalez Errasti, laborer and a member of the Castro commandos of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform; Humberto Olivera Perez, former captain in the regular army; Luis Alberto Olivera, student; Ricardo Martinez de la Cruz, customs chief of José Martí Airport, Havana, under the Castro regime; Julio Antonio More, law student; Martin Torres, art student, and two others who concealed their names because they have families in Cuba.

## A Heartening Look at Florida

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 24, 1961

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of Time magazine took a look at the State of Florida and its forward progress in an article "Fast-Growing Florida, a State That Can Hardly Wait," and the editors have taken note of the sound basis of the Florida economy and our hopes for the future.

The Fort Myers News Press, one of our leading newspapers, has called attention to the Time story and Editor William Spear expresses the interest and appreciation of the people of Florida for the type of reporting found in the Time article. Because the Spear editorial states the high points of the magazine article along with the views of many of our citizens and will be of interest to those people thinking of moving to Florida, or planning to invest in our State, I ask that it be reprinted here in the RECORD:

[From the Fort Myers News-Press, Apr. 13, 1961]

#### A HEARTENING LOOK AT FLORIDA

"Fast-Growing Florida, a State That Can Hardly Wait," is the title of a 2-page article in the April 14 issue of Time magazine. A great deal has been written and published about Florida in the national magazines, including Time. But its latest article is evidence that its astute editors consider that the State's phenomenal growth is still news and that the story of it still has not been fully told.

As this Florida story is news to northerners, so many of its details also will be news to Floridians who perhaps fail to see the forest for the trees. Especially at this time when uncertainties of the national recession cause some anxiety in Florida, some of the details recounted by Time need to be appreciated by Floridians. Here are some salient excerpts from the article:

"Florida, ending one of its balmy winters in history, last week greeted the spread of spring across the North with remarkable



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equanimity. Once the northward exodus of tourists in the springtime rated with the hurricanes as a natural catastrophe, inevitably followed by a summer-long slump. Now Florida is the focus of a permanent population shift that has made it the fastest-growing State in the Union and a bustling, year-round center of industry, commerce, and building.

"More than 3,000 new residents pour into Florida every week and 76 percent of them come to settle permanently. Last year its new citizens demanded 104,000 new dwellings. Beyond Florida's tawdry nightclubs, neon facades and kidney-shaped swimming pools lies a new and sustaining domain of factories, fresh communities, and solid citizens.

"Florida has already attracted 177 electronics plants with a total of 20,000 employees and payrolls of \$100 million. Florida's climate is so strong a lure that few Florida firms have trouble getting skilled workers. Many firms find that men will even leave California for Florida, where they feel closer to home ties in the East and Midwest.

"Florida has plenty of homegrown industry as well, ranging from fashions to phosphates, from oranges to oysters—which are having one of their best years. Florida's oranges, grapefruit, tangerines, and limes and its fresh and frozen orange juice account for 65 percent of the U.S. citrus crop, a third of the world crop.

"The airlines, which have helped to change the kind of sun lovers that Miami Beach draws, are also making Miami a springboard to Latin American markets. Miami has more direct air connections to the 21 principal U.S. air hubs than has either Boston or San Francisco, and more flights to Midwestern manufacturing cities than any other city in the United States.

"Retirement is still big business to the State. But people are retiring younger than ever before. Mackie's Port Charlotte has so many young retired servicemen that the city's average age is only 42. And more and more young Floridians are staying home. Half of the 12 colleges started in the United States last year were in Florida.

"Florida has become a state of mind, an American dream of rejuvenation, of living the simple life, of going back to the outdoors—even if that outdoors becomes one long, neat stretch of suburbia. To many industries and individuals alike, Florida suggests an escape from the ugliness of old, tired, industrial cities with their dark pewter skies and soot-covered bricks."

It is always helpful to see how one looks to others. This view of Florida from the outside looking in should be heartening to all Floridians at this time.

**Finding Housing for Those Displaced by Urban Renewal—A Study and Report by the Missouri Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

**HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most serious problems we have been encountering in our cities in carrying out extensive urban redevelopment programs is the problem of finding suitable housing for families forced out of their homes

by the bulldozers and wrecking cranes of municipal progress. This is, of course, a difficult problem also for small businesses faced by the same need for temporary or permanent relocation.

Urban renewal programs by and large are planned for areas of blight and deteriorating values. In those areas, however, there are usually good housing facilities, owned or rented by families of moderate income, as well as slum housing occupied by families eligible for relocation to public housing. But for the family which has an income above the level of eligibility for public housing, but below that needed to purchase or rent comparable housing in a stable neighborhood, the urban renewal program constitutes a real personal hardship. We are very much aware of this problem in the Housing Subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and in our hearings we have discussed at length various plans or programs for meeting it.

**MINORITY GROUPS FIND PROBLEM HARDEST TO SOLVE**

It is a particularly serious problem for minority groups who often find certain neighborhoods or facilities closed to them, even if they can afford to buy or rent at prevailing prices. This situation has been the subject of a comprehensive survey in my State of Missouri by the Missouri Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, as outlined in a report by the committee's subcommittee on housing and urban renewal and adopted by the entire committee at a meeting in St. Louis last month.

In our deliberations on a new housing bill, the housing subcommittee has been considering such ideas as the President's proposal for 40-year mortgages on new sale housing constructed primarily for families displaced by urban renewal. I personally do not see how we can solve our problems in St. Louis in that fashion, but such a plan may be a useful addition to other programs.

**VALUE OF LONG-TERM REHABILITATION LOANS**

More important as a weapon in attacking the lower middle-income housing problem may be long-term rehabilitation and modernization loans which we have been discussing in the subcommittee. By making it possible for good, solid, but deteriorating housing in good, stable neighborhoods to be renovated and improved on a 25-year-plan basis, we can provide a substantial amount of good housing at reasonable prices and also prevent the slippage of additional areas into the so-called slum category.

The report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission points up the extent of the problem of finding suitable replacement housing for Negroes, particularly, in our State. This is an interesting and important contribution to our information in this field of urban renewal, and I commend its contents to all Members of Congress conscientiously concerned in achieving the modernization of our cities while at the same time achieving decent housing accommodations for those forced to move in the name of municipal progress.

MRS. FRANKIE M. FREEMAN, CHAIRMAN OF  
SPECIAL STUDY GROUP

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Renewal of the Missouri Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, has, I believe, done an outstanding research job on this project and I congratulate her and the other members of the advisory committee on their report. The recommendations will probably evoke some controversy, but I do not think there is or can be any controversy over the need for solving this serious problem, which is typical of just about every American city now engaged in an urban renewal program.

The report referred to and a covering letter are as follows:

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS,  
MISSOURI ADVISORY COMMITTEE,  
Washington, D.C., May 4, 1961.

HON. LEONOR SULLIVAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Enclosed for your information is one copy of the Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights on Housing and Urban Renewal in Missouri which was adopted by the committee at its meeting in St. Louis on April 24, 1961.

Yours very truly,

FRANKIE M. FREEMAN,  
Vice Chairman and Secretary.

**REPORT TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL IN MISSOURI**

On April 4, 1959, the Missouri Advisory Committee submitted its report to the Commission on Civil Rights on housing problems of minorities in Missouri. Included in its summary was the finding: "that racial and religious discrimination and segregation in housing exist in varying degrees in all sections of the State \* \* \* restrictions are practiced in both the sale and rental of housing. Kansas City and St. Louis each report cases of discrimination against Jews in private housing sales and rentals. Negroes are generally excluded from suburban and other outlying residential districts and are concentrated mainly in the older and blighted areas in the center section of the cities. Discrimination against racial and religious minorities in the operations of the housing market has become a controlling factor in establishing, reinforcing and extending patterns of segregation and discrimination in Missouri."

The Missouri Commission on Human Rights was created as a permanent State agency by the Missouri Legislature in 1959. The 1959 act charged the commission to conduct research projects and make studies into and publish reports on discrimination in Missouri. In its report to the Governor of Missouri, dated December 1, 1960, the commission submitted data on various civil rights areas affecting 97.56 percent of the Negro population of the State. In a summary of its findings in housing, the report stated: "Discounting those counties which reported few or no Negroes living in the county, every unit (responses from 78 counties and 2 cities) reported some type of residential segregation. Five of the units reported segregation in public housing. Negroes experience difficulty in obtaining FHA and VA loans when they contemplate buying or building in integrated areas. Discrimination in housing may also be associated with (1) discrimination by real estate agents in the advertisement, listing, sale, rental or lease of private housing and in

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might have, had they been out of jail. But the sad fact is that they did not though the resistance forces had counted on them. They had been brainwashed.

And Castro now no longer pretends that some day he is going to have an election.

Even in the Iron Curtain countries they pretend to have elections. The people have no choice among the candidates, and the few dissenters who vote "no" or don't vote at all usually wind up in Siberia or a concentration camp.

But the Communist governments find it useful propaganda to pretend they are holding elections, just as they pretend to have a parliament.

Thus the familiar pattern of dictatorship—from Hitler, through Mussolini, Mao Tse-tung, Stalin, and Khrushchev—unfolds. No freedom of the press, no free passage of citizens in and out of the country, confiscation of foreign property, organization of ignorant camp followers into storm troopers, jailing of suspects without trial, conflict with the church, establishment of an official villain (with Hitler it was the Jews; with Russia, China and Castro it's the United States, particularly "Wall Street").

It's idle to debate whether Castro himself is a Communist. His principal lieutenants are. He is doing business with the Communists. He has been following the pattern of the police state step by step. Now he has cast off all pretense. When you walk like a duck, and act like a duck, you are a duck.

Didn't take long, did it, once he got rolling? Less than 2 years.

**"Symbol of the Nation: Shepard Restores the Capital's Faith in Virtues of the American People," an Article by James Reston**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. JOHN BRADEMAS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 20, 1961

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a brilliant article published in the New York Times of May 9, 1961, by the distinguished correspondent of that newspaper, James Reston, concerning the remarkable achievement of America's first astronaut, Comdr. Alan B. Shepard.

The article follows:

**SHEPARD RESTORES THE CAPITAL'S FAITH IN VIRTUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**  
(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, May 8.—Comdr. Alan Shepard had a triumph in Washington today because he revived the faith of a sad and disillusioned city.

It was not that he represented the courage of this country's first explorer of outer space—everybody expected that—or that he was something new. On the contrary, it was because he symbolized what Washington was created to celebrate but had begun to doubt: the free and natural man: simple, direct, thoughtful, and modestly confident.

No matter what he had been like, Washington would have been enthusiastic, for Washington, weary of defeat, was prepared to exaggerate any achievement.

What surprised this sophisticated and cynical capital was that Shepard turned out to be that recognizable American character:

The kid next door, the dream of the easy athletic all-American boy, with faith in the Lord, and a glorious happy wife, and everybody's mother.

During the troubles in Cuba and Laos, this city has been in a peevish mood. Its theme has been that the American people were letting the Government down. They were selfish and materialistic, uninterested in paying for the education of their children, unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to meet the challenges of their enemies.

What had happened to the old virtues, Washington was asking. How could we compete against a centralized, conspiratorial Communist society with a free and easy society in which peoples were concentrating on their own personal aims and unwilling to volunteer for the great tasks essential to the Nation's survival?

ASTRONAUT THE ANSWER

Shepard provided at least one dramatic answer to this indictment. He was not the brilliant exception to the rule. He was not top of his class at Annapolis. He was well down in the middle, with over 40 ahead of him, yet he moved in here with a poise that astonished everybody from the President to the lowliest reporter in the press corps.

Even President Kennedy, that cool master of the news conference, never put on a better demonstration of grace and detailed knowledge under fire. Shepard fielded the questions like a pro. He was in command of the situation from the start to finish. He answered the fair questions and refused to answer the imprudent questions. And he was always considerate of the other astronauts who sat behind him on the stage and might have been chosen to take the first dramatic ride into space.

When he was asked whether he had any doubts or fears before he entered the big rocket, he admitted that he had. When he was asked whether he ever had any doubts about the risks he was taking, he replied that that was the easiest question of the day because he had never had a single doubt.

SUSTAINED BY RELIGION

When he was questioned about his faith, he said simply that all of the astronauts were sustained by their religion. When he was asked whether he had called his wife before he took off, he said he had, but that that was a personal question.

Danger he took as part of life and duty without question, and even with a kind of quiet pride. One was reminded of what Albert Camus, the French author and patriot, said just before he died:

"My conclusion will be simple. It will consist of saying in the very midst of sound and fury of our history: 'Let us rejoice.' Let us rejoice at being faced with cruel truths. \* \* \* Let us seek the respite where it is—in the very thick of the battle. \* \* \*"

In a way, Shepard made almost as much of an impression on Washington with his words and spirit as he did with his flight. He reminded the Nation that there are free and able men here unknown to the Nation as a whole, and he talked about himself as if he were very lucky, and that there were many other men who might have had the chance he had to prove the point.

Accordingly, this was a memorable occasion, which cut through the gloom of the last few weeks and provided new hope for the future.

Away back in 1913, Oliver Wendell Holmes reflected on the disappointments of the day and expressed the kind of faith many men felt here today after listening to Shepard.

"If I am right it will be a slow business for our people to reach rational views, assuming that we are allowed to work peaceably to that end. But as I grow older I grow calm. If I feel what are perhaps an old man's apprehensions, that competition from new races will cut deeper than work-

ing men's disputes and will test whether we can hang together and can fight. \* \* \* I do not lose my hopes. \* \* \*

"I think it not improbable that man, like the grub that prepares a chamber for the winged thing it never has seen but is to be—that man may have cosmic destinies that he does not understand. And so beyond the vision of battling races and an impoverished earth, I catch a dreaming glimpse of peace."

**Federal Control Must Follow Federal Aid**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS  
OF

**HON. BRUCE ALGER**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, many of us who oppose Federal aid to education because there is no way that such aid will not be followed by Federal control, are in complete agreement with Senator HARRY BYRD, of Virginia, who so eloquently points out that "it would be irresponsible for a Federal agency to pass out billions of dollars without exercising control over the programs for which they are provided." Senator BYRD calls attention to one major field in which Federal control in the schools will cost the taxpayers millions and will result in less school construction for which the money is allegedly being raised—that is in providing that Davis-Bacon wage rates on all public school construction be paid whenever Federal subsidy is used. I sincerely urge that all my colleagues carefully read the editorial, herein inserted, based upon Senator BYRD's statement and printed in the Wall Street Journal:

THE LOGIC OF CONTROL

Speaking of the administration's Federal aid to education bill, Senator BYRD the other day remarked that it would be "irresponsible for a Federal agency to pass out billions of dollars without exercising control over the programs for which they are provided."

We think that sums up the inherent and inescapable logic of the matter. Many people scoff at the danger of Federal control of education; the bill itself contains a specific disclaimer. Yet, how, in fact, is it possible to have a large, costly, long-lasting Federal program and no Federal responsibility?

Actually, despite the disclaimer, the present bill already has control features. For one thing, Senator BYRD notes that it would provide for paying so-called Davis-Bacon labor wage rates on all public school construction wherever Federal subsidy funds are used. He adds that these rates, "almost without exception, are metropolitan rates. To apply them elsewhere for school construction means spending more money for fewer classrooms."

More direct controls could easily be added by amendment. The Federal subsidies might be limited to States which put greatest emphasis on science courses, or which use certain textbooks. It takes no effort of the imagination to see the growth of such controls.

And why not? It is idle to argue that the Federal Government should put up these billions for education and refrain from any say in how and for what purposes they should be spent. The real question is something else: Whether the Nation wants to jeopardize the principle of local control, which continues to yield excellent results,

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help these enslaved nations is a duty of brotherhood and a duty to mankind.

I hope, Mr. Flood, that your resolution is passed, so that we, as conscientious American citizens know that the cries of the enslaved people under Communist Russia are heard by our Government and that action is taken.

Respectfully,

JESÚS E. JIMÉNEZ.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., April 30, 1961.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I herewith express my sincere gratitude to you for your prevailing action in the matter of enlightening our fellow Americans on imperialistic Soviet policy and supporting the liberation efforts of nations subjugated by the Russians.

I appeal to you to continue your support of this magnanimous aim.

Very truly yours,

NICHOLAS BOHDAN LUCZAKOWSKY.

MAY 2, 1961.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We, Americans of Cossack background, expected your reelection, and we are happy you will continue your activities in the Congress of the United States.

Your reelection signifies the acclaim of your constituents and their approval of your splendid political work. We are glad that you now in position to continue your work for the benefit of the captured peoples. This work, in our opinion, serves at the same time the best aims of the United States.

In the furtherance of your patriotic service to this country, and in pursuance of the best traditions of its glorious past, and for the ideals of the humanity in general, you presented in the Congress a new resolution, proposing to establish a permanent congressional Committee for the Captive Nations. This proposal evoked in us a feeling of deep moral satisfaction because we remain firmly convinced that our enemy can be conquered only by the common efforts of all of us, the peoples of the free world together with the peoples suffering under the yoke of the Communists.

On behalf of the Cossack national liberation movement we offer to you an expression of our deepest gratitude for all that you have done for our common cause, and we ask you to accept our sincere wishes for the realization of your highly humanitarian and politically significant proposal. We are convinced that the acceptance of your proposal will prove to be a great historical event.

Respectfully yours,

IGNAT BILYJ.

MAY 1, 1961.

Mr. DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. FLOOD: I appreciate receiving news from Washington, D.C. This is it, House Resolution 211, proposing a special Committee on Captive Nations.

The three Baltic States lost their independence under the agreement made between Germany and Soviet Russia. The tremendous merciless power of Soviet Russia swept over Estonian territory in 1940 and those who had been serving their fatherland for the benefit of future generations were treated as the biggest criminals.

The Baltic States are looking forward to free existence again according to human rights in the world, where every nation, big or small, should have the right to live.

Very truly yours,

ROMAN LAES.

1411 Toberman Street,  
Los Angeles 15, Calif.

MAY 4, 1961.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DANIEL J. FLOOD: In respect to Moscow's increasing propaganda on the subject of "liberation" of the colonial nations from capitalism, it is very necessary to coordinate our activities in revealing the Russian tactics of colonizing other nations, which is still continuing but with distinguished maneuvers and methods.

In fact, there is no capitalistic or "imperialistic" country in the world which might have one-tenth of that number of colonized nations that Russia has at present. Unfortunately, their lasting struggle for independence had never been supported by any outside power nor had sufficiently been realized. The physically hard and morally humiliating conditions that the captive nations are bearing under the Moscow dictators must be highlighted.

I don't wish to extend this letter to the history of struggle of all captive nations but wish to point out some facts that took place with the Idel-Ural or Volga-Ural nations from where I've come.

The Kazan and the Astrakhan Kingdoms on the Volga had been conquered by Ivan the Terrible in the midst of the 16th century and the native people were slaughtered and scattered all over Russia so that the Tatars were thoroughly weakened. However, in the course of 400 years the Tatars staged many uprisings but every time they were repulsed by the Russian military forces.

Toward the end of the First World War, when Russian power was shaken by the Germans, the Idel-Ural Tatars managed to restore their national independence and established a parliamentary government in November 1917. At the same time, the Russian Communists seized power, not so much by force but by means of propaganda, which even at that time was used by the Communists with astonishing skill. The main theme of their propaganda was: "Liberty to All," which was also interpreted by the former colonial nations that "They may even choose their own way of the future."

But as soon as the Bolsheviks eliminated the Czars remnants, they directed their military forces against the Idel-Ural state and captured it in April 1918.

Where is that promised "Liberty" of 1917? Nowhere. On the contrary, all nations "liberated" by the Russians since 1917, are in the Communist orbit and are the subjects of the Central Communist Party of Moscow.

Moscow can't tolerate when someone dares to speak against it. Thus, your House Resolution 211, which applies to the captive nations in the Russian orbit, is the most powerful blow against its prestige. And that once started, this blow against the Moscow colonizers should be continued with increasing power. With hope.

Yours faithfully,

AHMED GEREY.

APRIL 22, 1961.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FLOOD: We know from the press that you have introduced the resolution calling for the establishment of a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

We wish to congratulate you on your boldness and wisdom in introducing such a resolution.

We believe that the captive nations problem is steadily growing in importance in world affairs.

The need to realize it, know it, and consider a proper solution of it when the time comes, is becoming more and more evident and necessary.

Your resolution is, in our opinion, a timely and proper answer to this need.

We wish you full success in your action. We also are writing our Congressman, the honorable HOWARD B. ROBINSON, asking him to lend his support to your resolution.

Respectfully yours,

WOLODYMYR B. SHEMAEL.  
WILLIAM IWANONKO.

*Cuba fiasco*  
**Castro's Cuba Should Teach Us a Lesson**

# EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 26, 1961

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD an excellent article which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on May 5, written by Philip W. Porter:

CASTRO'S CUBA SHOULD TEACH US A LESSON  
(By Philip W. Porter)

Another useful lesson from the Cuban fiasco—in addition to the discovery that our high Government officials are fallible and human—is the extent and speed with which the Communist-style police state has taken over this island at our back door.

Most Americans, being casual readers and inattentive listeners, knew dimly that Castro had abolished freedom of the press and of the air—that's the first thing all dictators do—and had confiscated American-owned property without compensation.

They knew also that he had steadily increased the size and armament of his militia, and was doing business with Russia, China, and other Iron Curtain countries. And that he and the Catholic church were making faces at each other.

They knew the tourist business with America is shot and it's extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Cuban citizens to leave the country now.

## SOME CHERISHED ILLUSIONS

But somehow they had maintained the hope, and probably the belief, that there were enough people in Cuba who hated all this and would stick their necks out when the proper moment for revolt should arise.

The slowly sinking standard of living in Cuba, particularly for the middle classes—shortages of familiar goods, shortages of repair parts, etc., is no particular secret. It has begun to hurt.

Well, the abortive invasion abruptly ripped the veil off those illusions. Castro has apparently scared the daylight out of those remaining in Cuba and established such a tight Gestapo-type espionage that his gangs were able to round up thousands of suspects overnight and keep them in jail until all danger from the invading forces had passed. Most of them may still be in jail. Little verifiable information comes out of Cuba these days.

Now he has started open warfare with the church, which in every country has historically resisted communism. All Catholic priests in Cuba have been put under house arrest, and priests who are foreign citizens will require permits to stay. This means soon they'll be ousted. Church schools are to be "nationalized."

## THEY WERE BRAINWASHED

Few civilians and no militia stuck their necks out when the small band of Cuban patriots landed in the Zapata swamp. Some



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for the sake of political handouts for which no need has yet been demonstrated?

It is certainly the right of the people to decide either way. But if they choose the Federal road they should at least be in no doubt about its logical destination.

## A Big Job For Batt

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring the attention of the Congress to an editorial which appeared in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph on May 3, 1961. All who know of Mr. William I. Batt, Jr., and of his appointment to be the Administrator of the depressed area program concur with the sentiments expressed in this editorial. We shall look forward with pleasure to the privilege of having his service in the Federal Government after such an able demonstration of his abilities as secretary of labor in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

## A Big Job For Batt

President Kennedy made a good choice in naming William I. Batt, Jr., secretary of Pennsylvania's Department of Labor and Industry, to administer the new program of Federal aid to depressed areas.

Mr. Batt has had wide experience as a Federal and State administrator in the fields of labor and economics. He has been head of this State's labor and industry department since 1957.

Under his leadership, Pennsylvania's first effective program of minimum wages for women was put into force, programs for rehabilitating areas of chronic unemployment and retraining technologically displaced workers were initiated, and the State's labor-management climate was improved despite the stresses of two national recessions.

Prior to his service in this State, Mr. Batt held several positions in the Federal Government, including staff offices in the Department of Labor, Department of Commerce, Office of Production Management and the Lend-Lease Administration.

During the 1960 presidential campaign John F. Kennedy named Mr. Batt to organize and chair the Kennedy Conference on New Jobs and New Growth in Charleston, W. Va. Thus Mr. Batt was tagged from the outset to administer any Federal program to aid depressed areas in a Kennedy administration.

Certainly Mr. Batt knows firsthand the problems of depressed areas in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, including the Pittsburgh area. We are confident that he will move promptly to implement the legislation.

Just what effect the program is likely to have on an area like the Pittsburgh district remains to be seen. Since there is already more plant here than anyone knows how to operate profitably, it may be that the provisions for building new plants will not be particularly useful.

This and other depressed areas might well benefit, however, from the program's provisions for retraining surplus labor. The legislation authorizes the expenditure of \$4.5 million per year to finance retraining programs and another \$10 million annually for the subsistence of trainees. The Office

of Education can, if it will, supplement this program with various forms of help. We hope it will, for this may prove to be for some areas the most valuable part of the depressed areas bill.

## The Saga of Our Italians—II

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, the great New York newspaper, the New York Mirror, has commenced a series of articles publishing the good deeds of persons of Italian ancestry and their contributions to our beloved country. This newspaper recognizes the bad and the good, the debased and decadent, with the sound and vital. It has decided to stress the positive good instead of the negative which other media of communication have so bluntly stressed during the past several years.

To the American who was born in freedom, the hopes and aspirations of the foreign born for a new life guaranteed in his liberties, in his rights and privileges are not fully appreciated. A native son of America cannot receive the thrill which the Statue of Liberty generates in the hearts of those going through the Narrows past our Golden Gate. Many of those foreign born who came to America in their early youth have repaid this Nation for the opportunities afforded them by outstanding service to the community in all fields of endeavor. One of those is Judge S. Samuel DiFalco, who was born in Italy and was brought here by his parents when a young boy. He truly represents the spirit of freedom and his story is a demonstration of democracy in action where a person may succeed on his own ability without regard to his place of birth, his race or his ancestry. His work has helped make the United States great. I have the privilege and honor of knowing Judge S. Samuel DiFalco intimately, and I can state that here is an American who has grafted the great traditions of the land of his father, Italy, upon the principles of America. The story of Judge DiFalco's career is set forth in the New York Mirror on Monday, May 8, and I believe that the reading public will find pleasure in understanding the background of the Italian who became surrogate of New York County:

[From the New York Mirror, May 8, 1961]  
THE ITALIAN WHO MADE SURROGATE—HELPED  
MAKE UNITED STATES GREAT

(Less than a month from now, on June 4, the greater New York chapters of the City of Hope, a free nonsectarian hospital for victims of cancer and other illnesses, will honor their man of the year with a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria. The man is New York's Surrogate S. Samuel DiFalco—who half a century ago was a poor immigrant lad on the lower East Side. The story of his rise to honor and eminence in American life is one of the

chapters in the saga of our citizens of Italian birth or heritage, told in a new Mirror series about their many contributions to our culture.)

(By Ara Plastro and Harry Aitshuler)

There was no printed program by which you could recognize the players, there on the teeming East Side of New York half a century ago. There was no label on Little S. Samuel DiFalco, saying "future surrogate."

You couldn't tell by the dirty faces of the youngsters, playing stickball in the street or potsie on the sidewalk, how they were going to grow up.

One might be destined for jail, and another for the judge's bench. There was no knowing.

Nowadays it seems fashionable to blame crime and misused lives on environment, neighborhood influences, poverty and youthful hardship.

But you could hardly prove that point by naming the few bad eggs who came out of the Lower East Side. For there are so many others—so many notables, honored citizens, and torchbearers of the American dream—who also originated there.

One of those who seems to have thrived on hardships, turning each difficulty into a stepping stone, is DiFalco, Surrogate of New York County and an honored leader in numerous areas of community life.

Actually he was 6 months old before he was brought to New York and the Lower East Side. He was born in Sicily in 1907. In New York his father, Antonino opened a small business, while his mother, Rose, was busy bringing up young Sam and his sister and brother.

Maybe the distinguishing mark on Sam was work. He cannot remember when he wasn't working. Going to Stuyvesant high, he worked after school as a Postal Telegraph messenger. Later, attending the New York University School of Commerce, and New York University Law School, he worked out a frantic schedule like this:

Morning: work as a customer's man in a Wall Street stockbroker's office. Afternoon: attend classes. Evening: work on a newspaper, soliciting phone ads or reading copy.

By 1930, he had a law degree, but that was only the beginning. A young lawyer's struggle to get a foot in the door is notoriously hard. He clerked in a law office for a year, then hung out his own shingle at 401 Broadway, waiting for some one to entrust a case to him and filling up the long hours of waiting by taking a hand in local Democratic politics.

He was a member of the Manhattan Democratic Club, president of the Italian-American Democratic Club, and he was busy with church and other community activities.

Then in 1935 he took a serious step: He ran as an insurgent against the organization candidate for assemblyman in the 8th assembly district, in the primaries. He lost—but only by 80 votes, a showing that demonstrated remarkable strength.

For 4 years then, he gave up his growing private practice to serve the Government as Associate Counsel in the Interior Department. He came back to general practice in 1939 in the firm of DiFalco, Field and DiGiovanna, and in 1941 really emerged on the political scene when he was nominated by the Democrats for city council. He was elected, then reelected in 1948.

The rest of the story, to date, is one of winning more nominations and elections: State supreme court, and then in 1957, surrogate, for which he had both Democratic and Liberal support.

He lives at 933 Park Avenue with his wife, Emma, and their two children, Anthony, 22, a Fordham Law School student and Elisa, 15, a student at Marymount.

The political milestones tell only the results, not the why and wherefore. The

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numerous awards and citations bestowed on the man tell part of the rest. The votes came in because, in all walks of life, a great many people had come to know DiFalco, to respect and trust him and depend on him. He could be counted on to be in the forefront in charitable and civic activities covering a wide range of interests.

Hospitals, for instance, have been one of his special concerns. He is a director of Stuyvesant-Polyclinic and Grand Central Hospital; a trustee of Long Beach Hospital and the Children's Blood Foundation of New York Hospital, a director of the Home of Sons and Daughters of Israel.

He is a founder and director of the Columbus Day Citizens Committee. He is active in the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Lawyers Guild.

For "promoting tolerance and understanding among peoples of all faiths," he was honored in 1956 with the Eternal Light Award. The Israel Bond Committee named him its Man of the Year in 1954. He belongs, of course, to numerous professional, philanthropic and social groups. He is chairman of the National Italian-American League To Combat Defamation, which he helped organize in 1959 with other outstanding Italian-Americans.

"We felt," he recalls, "that the presentation of the Italian-American to the American public through many media—television, radio, press, and movies—was not only unfavorable, it was untruthful and defamatory. There was overreporting, out of all proportion, of the actual activities of an infinitesimal few, as against the positive contributions of the great masses of Italian-Americans in all walks of life. We don't advocate censorship—we aren't against the truth—but mere repetition of errors is brainwashing, likely to mislead the public into regarding with suspicion anyone with an Italian name."

To make the point, he displayed a clipping from a minor California newspaper, with a headline that screamed, "Mafia Involved in Stock Fraud." The story concerned an indictment against 17 men—just 2 of whom had Italian-sounding names.

Speaking for himself, and all the others who came here as immigrants or struggled upward through the obstacles of under-privilege and harsh environment, DiFalco said: "We feel a deep debt of gratitude to America, the land we came to for opportunity, for making it possible for us to achieve any success we have."

He himself is a shining example that it can be done.

### Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961

SPEECH  
OF

**HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 3, 1961

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I earnestly hope this House will promptly accept and approve this conference report on the minimum wage bill as the most reasonable compromise that can be effected at this time.

Department of Labor statistics show that 665,000 of the workers to whom coverage will be extended under this compromise now earn less than \$1 per hour and about 4½ million of the presently and newly covered workers earn less than \$1.25 per hour.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it is difficult, indeed, to understand how anyone living in the United States can regard as in any way excessive a take-home pay of \$50, before deductions, to an American working man or woman for a 40-hour week in this economic day and age.

In my opinion, the whole Nation will benefit by the acceptance of this compromise agreement which seeks to provide a firm foundation for the country's wage structure and which embraces a great assistance toward further economic recovery and employment stability.

Of significant import is the objective, contained in this agreement, of eliminating competition among the several States on the basis of low wage standards. As minimum wages are reasonably increased throughout our economy incentives for plant migration to low-wage States are reduced. It is certainly not in the American tradition to encourage competition for industry among the States solely on the basis of attraction through an available supply of cheap labor. All authorities agree that sort of competition is unfair and serves to encourage only social and economic dispute and disorder in the Nation.

This compromise agreement is as close to the President's recommendations as can now be accomplished and it is as reasonable to everybody involved as can be expected. I earnestly hope it will be adopted by this House without undue delay.

### Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. HALE BOGGS**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 8, 1961

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, May 3 last week was the 170th anniversary of Poland's Constitution Day. It is celebrated each year as a national holiday to commemorate that date when the Polish Diet enacted a constitution to place the power of the nation in the hands of the people. Poland was a frontrunner among the nations of Europe in asserting the right of men to be free and to chart their own destinies; and although liberty has been wrenched from the Poles by Soviet Russia, the love of freedom—the desire to restore liberty to Poland—still lives in their hearts. Someday, Mr. Speaker, the will of the Polish people will prevail, and they will realize the true destiny of their country—which was sounded on May 3, 1791, with the passage of a constitution inspired by our Declaration of Independence and the French proclamation of the rights of man. Two years ago I visited Warsaw to attend the 48th annual Interparliamentary Union Conference, and I sensed then the fact that the Poles yearn again for freedom. If there is a weak link in the Soviet chain of satellite nations, I think Poland is it. The peoples of free Europe and of our

own Nation join the Poles in holding forth the hope that they soon will enjoy liberty under a government truly responsible to the will of the people. It is because the torch of liberty is held so close to the hearts of the Polish people that I call upon my colleagues in the Congress to remember Polish Constitution Day and to cherish their hope for freedom.

*Cuba files*

The Press and the Cuban Fiasco

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. PAUL G. ROGERS**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 24, 1961

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, during the past few weeks we have heard much about the responsibilities and duties of the free press in this country, especially in regard to the coverage given the Cuban invasion and its failure.

The press, many citizens and the President himself have discussed the need for the press to exercise more self-restraint on matters affecting our national security.

A recent editorial by Jack Gore in the Fort Lauderdale News suggests the need for action by the news media themselves. Editor Gore, winner of the Freedom Foundation Award, summarizes what he sees as the abandonment of the American press.

It is encouraging to see this kind of comment come from within, and I ask that the editorial be printed here in the Record:

AMERICAN PRESS CAN SHARE PART OF THE  
IGNOMINY OF CUBAN FIASCO  
(By Jack W. Gore)

In the aftermath of last week's ill-starred invasion of Cuba, and in the rash of re-criminations that have followed, it appears to us that the American press, while pointing a critical finger at all those who were at fault, is overlooking some of its own muddy fingers.

In referring to the American press we aren't limiting the term to just newspapers. We include the pundits of television and radio who in their desire last week to be there first with the most and the latest news forgot all about their responsibility to their own Government.

In wartime it is a basic tenet of responsible journalism that the press should not be the medium for giving military information to the enemy nor for providing him with ammunition for his propaganda guns.

Yet, in this Cuban fiasco, the American press failed on both those counts. Not only were our columns and our airwaves filled with military information of value to an enemy, but we provided that same enemy with all the ammunition he needed to pull the rug right out from under our own Government.

In this latter regard we specifically refer to the manner in which some news agencies and reporters deliberately and almost gleefully went about the business of exposing our own Government's clandestine role in the invasion immediately after President Kennedy had told the world we had not taken an active part in this affair.

Now, perhaps, Mr. Kennedy was guilty of a bit of bad judgment in trying to disguise what we may have done to back up and support the Cuban rebels. But if the President was guilty of bad judgment, then the press was guilty of infinitely worse judgment by making Mr. Kennedy out to be a liar and thereby providing the Communist propaganda machine with the wherewithal to deal American prestige a crippling blow all over the world.

Was it necessary or even in good taste, for instance, for the Columbia Broadcasting System to tell the world via television that the rebel invasion had been planned by our own Central Intelligence Agency and that it had been launched from some tiny islands off the coast of Nicaragua which were under the control of the U.S. Government? Sure, this was juicy information, but whom did it help? Not our own Government or the American people, to be sure. And while CBS may have scooped the world in revealing this little tidbit of information, it was the kind of scoop that must have drawn some real smiles of pleasure from the Kremlin propagandists and the Cuban Communists who couldn't have had their cause served better if they had been over here directing the activities of the American press.

We have the greatest respect for freedom of the press. It is a vital adjunct to the preservation of our way of life and our system of government. But freedom of the press does not carry with it the license to provide information and comfort to the enemy, and the American press was guilty of this in large measure last week.

In World War II the American press did an admirable job of cooperating with our armed services and with the Government in voluntarily censoring itself. On many occasions news agencies and reporters uncovered stories which would have made real headlines if they had appeared in print. But they didn't appear because the news agencies and the reporters were willing to sacrifice a few headlines in the best interests of our war effort, and, as a result of this kind of cooperation, it wasn't necessary for the Government to resort to formal press censorship to keep vital information out of the hands of the enemy.

It can be argued that since this country is not at war at the present time there is no reason for television, radio and newspaper reporters to pull their punches in regard to this country's activities. This argument, however, belies the fact we are engaged in fighting a cold war that is just as much a threat to our security as any hot war we have ever fought.

Under these circumstances is it wise or proper for the American press to bare our secret operations to the whole world under the guise of reporting in depth? Does it make sense for the American press to give Fidel Castro enough information about rebel military operations that he can boast he knows all about what is going to happen from reading American newspapers?

The American press has always been quite skilled at the business of finger-pointing and exposing somebody else's mistakes. After what happened last week, however, we think the American press has some soul-searching of its own to do. It was primarily our fault that the American people and the rest of the world were given the impression that the rebel invasion was much bigger than it actually was, and it was primarily our fault that President Kennedy had the rug pulled out from under him when, for strictly propaganda purposes, he tried to make it appear that the Cuban rebels had our sympathy and little else in their invasion attempt.

Thanks to eager beaver reporters, television newsmen and editors who couldn't wait to display how smart they were in digging up inside confidential information, however,

American prestige has been dealt a crippling blow throughout the world and our Government has now been put in the acutely embarrassing position of having to admit it helped plan and stage an invasion that was a costly failure and which may well lead to even further and more dangerous involvements.

Call this good reporting, if you will. In retrospect, however, it adds up to some mighty irresponsible reporting, and, as one small segment of American journalism, we think it is high time the people in our business started using a little more restraint and a bit less freedom in deciding how much of our cold war dirty linen has to be washed right out in front of the whole world.

### Good News—Calendar of Events, May 1961, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 19, 1961

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, as I believe that the wonderful collections, facilities, and programs of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., are outstanding for the month of May 1961, I am inserting these programs in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to call these happy events to the attention of the U.S. Congress and the American people.

I am so tired of reading in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD what is wrong with our good country and the world in general, that I am submitting this under the heading of "Good News."

David Finley, the former curator as well as John Walker, curator, continue to maintain the high level of excellence in the administration of the National Gallery of Art which has made this one of the outstanding institutions of the world. If you have not seen the National Gallery of Art, or have not participated in its programs recently, you are really missing a high reward:

#### NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

MONDAY, MAY 1 THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 7

Painting of the Week: Reynolds. "Lady Elizabeth Compton" (Mellon Collection). Gallery 63. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 8:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Harriman exhibition: 19th century painters. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 11; Monday through Saturday, 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Christian Iconography and the Christian Religion in Antiquity (IV)." Guest speaker, André Grabar. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: The Alard String Quartet, with Overda Lipp Page, flute. East Garden Court, 8.

MONDAY, MAY 8 THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 14

Painting of the week: "Canaleto. Venice, the Quay of the Piazzetta" (gift of Mrs. Barbara Hutton). Gallery 55. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Harriman exhibition: 20th century painters. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 11; Monday through Saturday, 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Christian Iconography and the Christian Religion in Antiquity (V)." Guest speaker, André Grabar. Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: Jacob Maxin, pianist. East Garden Court, 8.

MONDAY, MAY 15 THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 21

Painting of the week: Scorel. "The Rest on the Flight into Egypt" (Samuel H. Kress collection). Gallery 41. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour of the week: Rubens and the baroque. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 11; Monday through Saturday, 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Christian Iconography and the Christian Religion in Antiquity (VI)." Guest speaker, André Grabar. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery orchestra. Richard Bales, conductor. (Music performance trust fund concert), east garden court, 8.

MONDAY, MAY 22 THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 28

Painting of the week: Dufy. "Nude, Reclining" (Chester Dale Collection). Gallery 62. Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6:30.

Tour for the week: Boucher and the rococo. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 1; Sunday, 2:30.

Tour: Introduction to the collection. Rotunda. Tuesday through Saturday, 11; Monday through Saturday, 3; Sunday, 5.

Sunday lecture: "Americans in Paris." Guest Speaker: Yvon Bizardel, Honorary Director of Fine Arts of the City of Paris. Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday concert: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor. Church of the Reformation Cantata Choir and Soloists (Civil War Centennial program). East Garden Court, 8.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5) in stereophonic sound.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office, REpublic 7-4215, extension 272.

Gallery hours: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays, 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the Gallery and to all programs scheduled.

Permanent collection: Paintings and sculpture comprising the Mellon, Samuel H. Kress, Widener, and Chester Dale Collections, with gifts from other donors, are located on the main floor. The Widener Collection of decorative arts is on the ground floor.

New exhibition: Chinese art treasures. An exhibition of paintings, calligraphies, porcelains, ancient bronzes, jades, enamels, lacquers, carvings, and silk tapestries, sponsored by the Government of the Republic of China. Central Gallery, G-7 through G-15. May 28 through August 13.

Continuing exhibition: The Marie and Averell Harriman Collection, Galleries 68, 69, 69-A, and 70. Through May 14.

New publication: Chinese art treasures. Exhibition catalog of 326 pages with text, 140 illustrations and 8 color plates. Size 11 x 9 inches.

Concerts: The Gallery's 18th American Music Festival, sponsored by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, will open on May 7 and continue through May 28.

Tenth annual series of the A. W. Mellon lectures in the fine arts: Lectures by Dr. André Grabar, professor of Byzantine and early Christian archaeology, Collège de

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France, Paris, on May 1, 8, and 15 will complete the series.

LecTour: A radio lecture device, running continuously, is installed in 28 exhibition galleries, 10 of which have recently been added. The talks cover most of the periods of art represented by the collections. A visitor may rent a small receiving set for 25 cents to use in hearing these LecTour broadcasts.

Cafeteria: Open to the public Mondays through Saturdays, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Sundays, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m.

### Giovanni da Verrazano: The Discoverer of the Hudson River

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. ALFRED E. SANTANGELO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. SANTANGELO. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, April 17, 1961, at the famous Battery Park in New York City, the Italian Historical Society of America, commemorated the anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River by Giovanni da Verrazano. The Italian Historical Society of America is spearheaded by the indefatigable John N. La Corte, general director, also publisher and editor. Many dignitaries were present, and the New York Naval Base Band entertained the large audience with its wonderful music. The program was opened with the U.S. National Anthem, sung by Olivia Bonelli, lyric soprano of the Brooklyn Opera Company. The invocation was given by the Most Reverend Joseph M. Pernicone, auxiliary bishop of New York, representing His Excellency, Francis Cardinal Spellman. The Commissioner of Sanitation, Hon. Frank J. Lucia, introduced the honored guests. Thereafter, the general director, Mr. La Corte, read the New York State Verrazano Day proclamation. Words of greeting from the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York, were extended by the commissioner of gas, water, and electricity, the Honorable Armand D'Angelo. The Italian Government sent its representative, the Italian Vice Consul, Dr. Emanuele Scammacca. Inasmuch as Giovanni da Verrazano sailed under the French flag, the French Government was represented by Mr. Bernard Malandain, the French Vice Consul, who extended words of greeting from the French Government. The U.S. Government sent Maj. Gen. Ralph A. Palladino, U.S. Army, who delivered an address which follows hereafter. Telegrams of greetings were read by me.

A highlight of the day was an address by the Honorable Edward D. Re, Chairman of the U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, a former member of the board of higher education of the city of New York and professor of law, who talked of the "Significance of the Centennials—the U.S. Civil War, and the Unification of Italy." The implications and contrast between the two

centennials were so clearly set forth that I believe the readers of the United States would gain extreme enjoyment in reading them. The speeches by Professor Re and Major General Palladino, follow:

**THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TWO CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS: THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY**  
Remarks of Dr. Edward D. Re, Chairman, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, on the Occasion of the Eighth Annual Verrazano Day Ceremony, Originated and Sponsored Annually by the Italian Historical Society of America, John N. LaCorte, Founder and General Director, Battery Park, New York City, April 17, 1961

Mr. Chairman, reverend clergy, distinguished public officials, my fellow Americans, and friends, we who enjoy the cherished blessings of liberty and freedom, in a land where we have labored to stamp out both tyranny and oppression, do well on this solemn occasion to reflect upon the significance of the events that we commemorate this day.

We gather at this historic site to pay tribute to a great Florentine navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano, who was the first to open the great portals of New York Harbor to the entire world. Since all of us are in a sense immigrants, each and every one of us owes a real debt of gratitude to Verrazano, who, as the first immigrant, made possible our happy and fruitful life in this land of opportunity. Yes, it was Verrazano who was commissioned by Francis I of France the pilot of the 100-ton caravel named *La Dauphine*. Yes, it was Verrazano who on this day in 1524 sailed into New York Harbor, 85 years before Hudson. He named the land Angouleme in honor of the French sponsorship of the voyage, and the bay, Santa Margarita, in tribute to Verrazano's Italian heritage.

Our story now begins to assume meaning because it shows the combination of efforts and forces that had to unite in order to achieve the historic event. And it has always been thus, as illustrated by the very discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. For the monumental discovery of America in 1492 was only made possible by the indomitable spirit of an Italian sailor, and the generosity and wisdom of a Spanish queen.

Consequently, to the thoughtful student of the lessons of history it becomes readily apparent that the history of America is one of cooperation and joint effort. It reveals the indelible imprint of so many people from different lands.

From the two historic events cited, it is clear that just as the American of Italian heritage derives justifiable pride from the knowledge that his forebears have played a vital role in the discovery and development of this great land, so may Americans of Spanish and French extraction swell with pride because their ancestors too have made an invaluable contribution.

Countless other events of American history can be recounted to attest to the contribution of every other national and ethnic group that forms the total panorama of America and the American way of life. Our national motto, *E Pluribus Unum*—out of many, one—truly describes this multinational contribution that fused to form a new nation, founded upon principles of freedom and equality of opportunity for all.

This Verrazano Day ceremony takes place at a time when by a coincidence of history, two centennials are being celebrated simultaneously. While we as Americans celebrate the principles of unity and liberty that were vindicated by the Civil War, all Italians are celebrating the centennial of the unification of Italy. Although the common purpose may not at first seem obvious, only a moment's

reflection is required to reveal that both events, analogous by reason of time, struggle and bloodshed, were historic landmarks in the cause of national unity and universal liberty. Just as Italians labored and fought to unite, and to expel foreign power from Italian soil, Americans fought to preserve the Union and to make that Union all free. Since clearly we could not survive, in the words of the Great Emancipator, half slave and half free, war was the price that had to be paid for a free America.

Great deeds and great achievements are often only born of even greater sacrifices, and the American Civil War was no exception. Those sacrifices, however, produced an emancipation proclamation, a beacon light of freedom destined to illumine the world. For us Americans this is the true significance of the Civil War, and this is the meaning and inspiration that we hold forth to all peoples everywhere.

On March 16, 1961, I had the privilege to be present at the centennial celebration of the unification of Italy held in the city of Washington in the District of Columbia. This celebration, perhaps the first of its kind, was under the high patronage of the President of the United States and the President of the Republic of Italy. On that occasion it was my high honor to hear President John F. Kennedy pronounce some truly inspirational and reassuring words.

Speaking to a most distinguished audience assembled in the State Department auditorium, President Kennedy stated that "Italy and the United States are inextricably linked in their past, present, and, we believe, in the future." In paying gracious tribute to Italy, President Kennedy added that "Western civilization, as we know it, has risen from the bank of the Tiber." Calling for a "new risorgimento" he declared that what is needed today is "a new awakening of man's ancient aspiration for freedom and progress until the torch lit in ancient Turin one century ago guides the struggle of man everywhere—in Italy, in the United States, and in the world around us."

From this thought, so beautifully expressed, we see a common theme applicable to both centennials. The theme is one of unity, freedom, and, yes, as stated by President Kennedy, progress. Notwithstanding the hardships and calamitous events of the Civil War, that war was a step in the growth, development, and progress of America.

And notwithstanding the hardships endured by Italians such as Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, the Italian unification too was a step in the development and progress of Italy—culminating in the present Italian Republic. These events on either side of the Atlantic helped make a reality the passion for liberty shared by both Italy and America.

With these thoughts foremost in our hearts, each of us owes a debt of gratitude to patriotic organizations that sponsor celebrations such as this Verrazano Day ceremony. In addition to giving us a sense of history, national pride, and international understanding, they serve the useful purpose of teaching us the lessons of the pages of history, that the liberty that so many take so readily for granted was only achieved by struggle and bloodshed. No nation that boasts of liberty and freedom acquired those blessings without toil and struggle.

We who cherish the liberties that we enjoy must pledge ourselves not only to preserve those liberties for all future generations, but ought to dedicate ourselves anew to the principles that inspired the founding of this great country. We must preserve what is good and we must strive to go forward to achieve the progress that was mentioned by our President. Surely no one ought to be satisfied by merely passing on to posterity what he has received from the past. Rather we of this generation must feel the